1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

wise received stimulus and suggestion from Dr. Edward Sapir. In Mexico, Dr. Manuel Gamio extended invaluable advice and practical aid. Acknowledgment is also to be made of the courteous assistance of Dr. J. Reygadas Vértiz. Señorita Elena Landazuri helped largely in recording musical notation. A small part of the help received from Margaret Park Redfield, both in collecting and presenting materials, is specifically acknowledged in the following pages. Finally, the writer feels a great obligation to the Tepoztecans themselves, whose friendly co-operation made this stay pleasant and showed the possibility of some day making an intensive study of Tepoztlán. Many names might be mentioned, but particularly those of Don Cruz Villamil, *barrio* of Santa Cruz; Doña Soledad Villamil, *barrio* of Santa Cruz; Don Jesús Balderrama, *barrio* of Santo Domingo; Don Ignacio Cortez, *barrio* of San Sebastian; Don Gilberto Gaillardo, *barrio* of San Miguel; and, most especially, Don Jesús Condé, *barrio* of San Miguel.

Chapters ii and iv have already appeared, in a somewhat different form, in the *American Anthropologist.*

ROBERT REDFIELD

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The sessions of both are somewhat irregular, but the former gives instruction to a score or more of girls, the latter to several score of children of both sexes. There is also a small federal school in Santiago and another in San Andres. Not a great deal is taught besides reading, writing, and simple arithmetic, and a little Mexican history. Quite a number of *los correctos* have had superior schooling in Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

The mere statistical statement of the extent of literacy, however, is inadequate to describe the advancement of this people. The degree of intellectual development is better told in terms of how much and of what is read rather than by counting those who can read. A truer picture would appear from a study of the uses to which the knowledge of reading and writing is put. Such a study has not been made. This preliminary consideration suggests that even including the minority of the city-wise, the people of Tepoztlán make very little use of the stored experiences of other groups. The best-educated man in Tepoztlán has read much when living in the city, but in Tepoztlán he owns hardly more than half-a-dozen volumes. It is, one would venture, a very unusual occurrence if a single individual in Tepoztlán, except a schoolboy studying his lesson, reads from any sort of book.[1] Magazines rarely appear in Tepoztlán, and in this community of four thousand people no newspaper

[1] The writer himself introduced to Tepoztlán the only technical volume—a handbook of the mason's craft—which he saw in Tepoztlán.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The intensive historical study served a number of ends. It served to check the validity of some generalizations made by historians and other scholars concerning various aspects of Mexican history. For example, there has been some disagreement among scholars about the size of the pre-Hispanic population and the rate of depopulation after the Conquest.[8] As we shall see, the data on Tepoztlán throw some light on this subject. Similarly, there have been divergent interpretations of the Mexican Revolution. Here we have a village which was in the heart of it. What can an intensive study of a single village tell us about the results of the Revolution? How does it fit in with the general picture? How did the *ejido* program work out in this particular case, and what clarification does this offer on the larger agrarian problem? In this study I attempt to answer these and other questions. A sufficient number of similarly detailed local studies might provide new insights which could be used in the formulation of more accurate broad generalizations.[9]

The field techniques used in this study were those of the current anthropological repertory, and included participant-observers, interviews, autobiographies, case studies, and a battery of psychological tests including the Rorschach. A study of a relatively large and complex village like Tepoztlán, with a population of approximately 3,500,[10] with differences in the size of barrios, the degree of wealth, and the attitude of the older and younger generation, and with a rapidly changing culture, presented formidable problems. Assistance was necessary; furthermore, the traditional anthropological reliance upon a few informants for obtaining a picture of the culture was obviously inadequate in this situation. Sampling and securing data and informants representative of all the significant differences in the village seemed just as important here as in a study of a modern urban community. We therefore employed quantitative procedures wherever possible, utilizing census data, local government records and documents, schedules, and questionnaires. Numerous village surveys were made with the assistance of local informants and a small staff of field workers.

Two aspects of the field study deserve special mention. Intensive case studies of representative families were carried on, by living with a family and applying to this family all of the techniques and conceptual categories traditionally used by the anthropologist in studying a larger social unit. Seven families were studied intensively in this manner, with the aid of student assistants. Much of the detailed information on inter-personal relations contained within this volume was obtained from these family studies.[11] Two of these studies will appear in a later publication.

[8] Cf. the conservative estimate of Bailey W. Diffie, *Latin-American Civilization: Colonial Period* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Sons, 1945), pp. 179-80; and Sherburne F. Cook and Lesley B. Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948).

[9] Intensive historical studies of small areas are increasing. See, for example, Sherburne F. Cook, "The Historical Demography and Ecology of the Teotlalpan," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXIII (1949).

[10] The population of some other Mexican communities for which we have anthropological studies are as follows: Chan Kom, 251 (1930); Tzintzuntzan, 1,231 (1945); Mitla, 2,500 (1936); and Cherán, 5,000 (1945).

[11] For a discussion of some of the possibilities of this kind of family study, see Oscar Lewis, "An Anthropological Approach to Family Studies," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LV, No. 5 (March, 1950).

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Because this project in its early phase was under the sponsorship of the Inter-American Indian Institute, we wanted to learn about the practical problems of the people. It occurred to me that it might be an interesting technique to call meetings of the heads of families in each of the barrios of the village, to explain our mission, and to ask them to discuss their problems.[12] The response of the people was instructive and led quite unexpectedly to the organization of a program of services as a corollary to the research project.

At each of the meetings men rose to state that if it was an understanding of their problems we wanted, we would not have to stay very long, for they knew their problems only too well. They complained that their lands were becoming more sterile and their yields progressively lower, and that they could only harvest a single crop a year because of lack of rainfall—they asked for an irrigation program. Some men complained that each year they were losing a large part of their corn because of insects—they asked for help on insect control. Others complained, "We have a new road and many tourists, but our children are dying"—they asked for a doctor. Still others stressed the need for a new school building. It was made clear to us that they would be interested in helping us in our study of the village only if we would help them with these problems. One dignified, elderly Tepoztecan rose and said, "Many people have come here to study us, but not one of them has helped us."

It was clear that if we were to establish good rapport with these people we would have to help them. After explaining the situation to Dr. Gamio and consulting with members of the sponsoring committee for our research project, we decided to ask Mexican government agencies for help. Further consultations followed, and we finally obtained two agronomists, two doctors, and two social workers for the village.

The details of the operation of this program of service have been described in another report.[13] Here I should like to point out that we gained some of our best insights into the nature of Tepoztecan character and institutions through this experiment.[14] It was as if we had set up an experimental situation to study the reactions of the villagers to outside influences.

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[12] The difference between asking people about their history and customs and asking about their problems may be very significant in the total view of the culture a field worker gets.

[13] Lewis, *The Tepoztlán Project: A Report on Administrative Problems* (Washington, D.C.: National Indian Institute, 1945).

[14] On the basis of our Tepoztecan experience, it seems that the combination of research and service programs might be an excellent way of integrating the fields of applied and theoretical anthropology. I realize that this may sound heretical to the purists. But the history of other disciplines may be instructive in this regard. O. H. Mowrer pointed out to me that in the history of psychology some of the greatest progress in the development of psychological theory has come as a result of the clinical treatment of patients. The experience of English anthropologists with action programs in Africa also points in this direction. Malinowski has commented on this as follows:

"The pose of academic detachment and persistent blindness to the fact that theoretical anthropology can learn quite as much from practical issues as it can teach in return, have considerably handicapped modern developments in the Science of Man. . . . In my opinion there is no doubt that whole-hearted concern with practical matters will more directly lead the theoretical student into the understanding of the dynamic aspect of culture change than any

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

122 123 [115] Field work was begun with several preliminary visits to Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages of the municipio.[15] On one of these visits I brought letters of recommendation from the governor of the state of Morelos to the local municipal authorities, who were very helpful and who became our first informants. With their aid we rented a house in the village where I lived with my family. It was my purpose during the first month to establish rapport, locate informants, select representative families to be studied, and generally prepare the way for the coming of the student assistants from the Museo Nacional de Historia y Antropología who were to help with the field work.

123 Establishing ourselves in the village presented few difficulties. Because of the frequent coming and going of tourists, the presence of a few outsiders created no particular stir. However, during the first few months we heard rumors that we were spies from the U. S. A. with imperialistic designs,[16] that we were Protestant missionaries come to change the religion,[17] that we were agents of the Mexican government studying the economy for the purpose of raising taxes, and that we were trying to locate all youths eligible for conscription, a burning issue in the village at that time. Fortunately for the project, the rumors never became widespread and did not present any serious obstacles. With the exception of a single incident which occurred after the investigation had been going smoothly for four months, there were many manifestations of good will and cooperativeness on the part of Tepoztecans. Throughout the study, rapport with our selected families and other informants was excellent.

The circle of our acquaintances and informants in the village was extended considerably because our Mexican student assistants lived with families in each of the barrios and made many friends on their own initiative. Also, some of Redfield's informants were still alive, remembered him well, and were eager to work with us. On our return to the village in 1947 after an absence of three years, we were impressed by the enthusiasm with which we were greeted. The very fact that we had returned seemed to have automatically increased their confidence in us. In our last two summer field trips we were therefore able to obtain data of a much more personal and intimate nature than before.

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other avenue of research. What is practically urgent to man, whether it be desirable or detestable, whether inspiring or galling, soon becomes a collective drive, that is, a relevant social force." Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Anthropology of Changing African Cultures," *Methods of Study of Culture Contact in Africa*, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memo. XV (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1938).

[15] I am indebted to Julio de la Fuente for accompanying me on these first visits; it was partly on the basis of his counsel that Tepoztlán was selected for study.

[16] We learned later that this rumor was begun by a Sinarquist agent from Mexico City who visited the village regularly during our stay and had succeeded in organizing a small Sinarquist unit in the village.

[17] Shortly after we moved into Tepoztlán we were visited by a delegation of Tepoztecans who wanted to know if we were connected with the YMCA project that was operating nearby in the municipio of Tepoztlán, and we were asked pointedly if we had come to change the religion. We explained that we were in no way connected with a religious organization, and that our purpose was to study the customs of the people and to learn of their needs. Apparently they were satisfied with our answer. The leader of this group later became one of our friends and informants.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The excellent rapport of our staff with Tepoztecans deserves some comment, because it was in such sharp contrast to the poor quality of inter-personal relations among the villagers themselves. I mention this point here because it has an important bearing upon the question of methodology and the reliability of impressions of rural Mexico. There is a natural tendency on the part of anthropologists as well as tourists to judge people by how they act in relationship to oneself. To do this in the case of Tepoztlán (and I suspect that this holds true for much of Mexico) would be to miss some of the essential character traits of the people.

When an anthropologist with the title "el doctor" and university students enter a village like Tepoztlán, they are treated in a special manner. Tepoztecans are sensitive to status distinctions, and many are eager to cultivate people who, they believe, have connections and may be in a position to help them. Many also enjoy talking with outsiders who are *gente de cultura* (cultured people); it gives them a sense of importance. By the same token, this sensitivity to status made others, who for one reason or another were not selected as informants, envious and even vindictive. In short, I should like to emphasize that despite the fact that doors were opened to us and that we have formed many close friendships in the village, Tepoztecans are not always pleasant to each other.

Early in the project I decided to use the barrio[18] and the family as the basic units of research. The seven barrios were still, as in Redfield's time, important locality groupings; and as we have indicated earlier, we considered the study of families fundamental to our research. The first few weeks were therefore spent in an analysis of a population census of the village which had been made a year before by the local authorities with the aid of the schoolteachers. The census data were reorganized first on a barrio basis. Barrio lists of families were drawn up, and each family was assigned a number which thereafter was used to identify that family. In addition, alphabetical lists of all men and women in each barrio were made, with the corresponding family number after each name. In this way we were able to identify all individuals in the village with respect to their barrio and family membership.

As a preliminary to obtaining families that would represent the various socio-economic groupings in the village, several informants ranked the families in each of the barrio lists according to relative wealth and social position. The criteria used in this tentative classification were the ownership of (1) a house, (2) land, or (3) cattle. In this way we obtained a rough idea of the relative economic standing of all the families in the village. On the basis of this, three families, each representing different socio-economic levels, were tentatively selected for study in each of the seven barrios.

After I had been in the village for about a month, the student assistants began to come one at a time. By December there were five students and a field worker in the village, each of whom was placed with a family in a different barrio. While we had some success in placing these student assistants with families that represented differences in socio-economic levels, size, composition, and degree of ac-

[18] Redfield's emphasis upon barrio differences led me to use them in this way, although they were not as important as I had anticipated.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

culturation, we found that there was a greater willingness among the better-to-do and more acculturated families on our list to have one of our staff live with them. Some of the poorer families who expressed willingness to accept a student were unable to do so because of very crowded living conditions. Many of these poorer families were large and lived in a single room.

We were now ready to begin the accumulation of a great variety of information on every family in the village. Each assistant was made responsible for gathering the data in his barrio. In the three smaller barrios, none of which had over forty families, it was possible to get a few informants who knew quite intimately most families in their barrios. In these smaller barrios, for instance, practically any male adult knew quite well who did or did not own land or other property. In the larger barrios no single informant was well acquainted with more than a small percentage of the families, and we therefore had to use many more informants. In effect, we were doing a census in each barrio, with the number of items investigated progressively increasing as our rapport improved, and as we felt free to ask more questions. Among the items of information which we eventually obtained for each family were (1) ownership of property, such as house, land, cattle and other animals, fruit trees, and sewing machines; (2) occupation and sources of income; (3) marital status, number of marriages, barrio of origin or birthplace of each spouse, kinship of all persons then living on the same house site, and other related items; (4) social participation and positions of leadership; (5) educational level and whether or not any of the children had attended school outside the village. These items were obtained on all families and were supplemented by a number of partial surveys on other items. In addition to the information which we obtained ourselves, we also utilized and checked much of the information contained in the census of 1940. We had obtained a special breakdown of the municipio census by individual villages from the Federal Department of Statistics. The information on all these items was checked independently by at least two informants.

Getting accurate data on land-ownership in Tepoztlán was a difficult and delicate matter because of general suspicion of the motives of anyone who undertakes such a study. Our staff worked for many weeks copying the property listing in the local property register for every family in the village. These findings were then compared with the information independently obtained from informants. Many discrepancies were found. The information which we obtained from informants indicated that approximately fifteen of the people who owned land according to our informants were not registered as landowners. On the other hand, we found several cases of land registered in the name of individuals who were not known by our informants to be landowners. By checking all cases in which there was a discrepancy between the data in the register and those of our informants, we believe that we arrived at a reasonably accurate picture of the real situation. In this connection we learned that there was a higher incidence of unregistered land in the outlying villages of the municipio, where such matters are less easily controlled by local authorities.

The question of the size of land plots presented much more difficult problems than the question of land-ownership. Tepoztecans still do not think basically in

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of a more cooperative society like the Zuni Indians where, for example, three women of a single household grind corn in unison.

Much of the men's work is also done on an individual basis. It is common to see men working alone in the fields and returning alone in the evening. Similarly, a man will go alone to cut wood, burn charcoal, or transport goods to distant villages. The care of cattle by young men and boys is also frequently done by a single individual, although brothers or cousins sometimes go together. On cattle buying trips to Guerrero, two or three men will go together for mutual protection but each carries on his own business.

On a number of occasions during the year the entire family may work together on a single project. This occurs sometimes during the corn harvest, but more frequently in picking plums during September and October. The shelling of large quantities of corn for sale also may be done by the whole family. This occurs more often in the smaller outlying barrios where the women are less reluctant to do men's work. Finally, the barrio fiesta generally requires a great deal of cooperative endeavor within the family.

The daily division of labor within the household reveals how the family functions as an economic unit. We present in Chart 1 a synchronic record of the activities of each member of a family which we observed for this purpose over a period of four days. This family is a member of the upper economic group and owns several plots of land and some cattle. The parents are in their early fifties and the age of the three daughters ranges from thirteen to twenty-four. Another daughter and a son are away at boarding schools and contribute little to the family in the form of labor. The record was made from March 28 to March 31, 1944, during the dry season when the father had little work in the fields. In addition, the father was slightly ill with chills and fever during part of the recorded period. This was not a disadvantage since it served to keep him at home where his activities could be more readily observed. The picking of *guajes* (acacia pods) fortunately began during this period and gave us an opportunity to record in detail how that work is carried on.

The following record, though covering only four days, shows in detail how the general work patterns operate during this season of the year. The father is at home and does many chores normally done by his wife. His illness does not prevent him from working; in Tepoztlán a man remains in bed only when seriously ill. However, he rests a good deal and reads, which is something the father in our observed family rarely does.

The mother is generally the first to rise and make the fire. She serves the meals, "cures" her husband, visits her mother, and is the only one of the women in the family to take an afternoon nap with more or less regularity. The item "Visits woman," which appears among her activities on Thursday, was listed because she had learned that this woman would visit the boarding school where the absent daughter was studying, and the mother wished to send her daughter a package by this woman.

[text continues on p. 72]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the broader research program, and the testing was done on a family basis as part of the intensive family case studies. Twenty-one families, representative of the socio-economic and barrio differences in Tepoztlán, were selected for the testing program, and each member of the selected families was given the Rorschach.

As part of the project, seven student assistants were assigned to live with seven of the selected families. The testing was begun in these seven families only after the field worker had established good rapport. In each case the assistant who lived with the family prepared the way for the testing. The tester was then invited to meet the family and spent some time with each in friendly visits. The parents were tested in the home, but most of the children were tested in the school.

There was relatively little resistance to the testing, partly because of the slow, indirect way in which each family was approached, and partly because of Tepoztecan passivity, particularly toward city people or those in positions of authority. Very few Tepoztecans asked questions about the test; they seemed content to accept the tester's statement that a series of ink-blots were to be looked at, and that they were to tell the tester what the ink-blots made them think of. In the few cases in which questions were asked, the ink-blots were explained as a test of the imagination.

The cooperation of the children was gained, first, by testing the parents and winning their confidence, and, second, by testing the children in descending order of age. It was also found effective to ask the mother to arrange the appointments, so that it was she who told the child when to take the test. Small gifts of toys and sweets also helped. Rapport was far better with the children tested at home in familiar surroundings and with family members near-by, than with those tested in the school.

Testing in the school had many disadvantages. The school in rural Mexico does not enjoy the same prestige as in the United States, and is often subjected to criticism and interference by conservative elements in the community. Our school testing program, which included a battery of psychological tests and collections of drawings and written themes, attracted a good deal of attention and gave the anti-school group a pretext for criticism.

In Tepoztlán it is assumed that when two people are alone together they are up to no good. Since it is necessary for the child and the tester to be alone during the administration of the Rorschach test, the removal of the children from the classroom, one by one, came in for particular protest. To make matters worse, a local *curandero* considered the doctor on our staff as a possible competitor and circulated pornographic pictures which he said were the pictures that our tester was showing to the children. When the tests were given in the home no such difficulties arose.

The children did not enjoy being the center of attention in the testing situation. They were shy, ill at ease, and unaccustomed to taking tests involving much talking, and they soon became weary with the effort of expressing themselves. There is a general feeling in the village that it is not good for a person to study or think too much, and the many questions were *molestia* (a bother). One mother objected to

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

121 795 acts with the folk or low tradition, and is influenced by it from the "grass-roots" level[7]. If we regard these extremes—the high tradition and the low tradition—as two ends of the continuum from formal to folk Catholicism, we may be able to determine something about their effect upon each other. A more careful analysis of Catholic cultures may be possible, however, by including the intermediate positions of nominal and cultural Catholicism, not emphasizing the degree to which the religious beliefs are practiced in terms of the Church's own goals, but rather, the forms which Catholicism manifests. In this sense, Tepoztlán [114] is again restudied, both to secure additional information, and to permit a different sort of participant observation by an anthropologist practicing the faith of the villagers he studies.

One basic reason for selecting for this study the village of Tepoztlán was that here was manifested in bold relief the frontier where formal and folk Catholicism meet. The natural 793 center of any formal Catholic activity rests locally with the parish priest who is pastor of the Church in a specific geographic area. In Tepoztlán, Dom Pedro Rojas has held this post for the past thirty-six years, under appointment by the Archbishop of Cuernavaca. His role, however, becomes somewhat complex 793 because his parish is made up of seven semi-independent units 794 known as barrios, each of which centers around a smaller church (iglesita) or chapel of which he is also the pastor, and which in all formal matters is accountable to him. Nonetheless each of these chapels does function with some degree of independence, pointing up the significance of folk Catholicism, as will be illustrated later in this brief account.

In addition to having had the advantage of studying the 114 works already accomplished about this village, the present discussion is based upon personal observations made during two summer field seasons. The writer and his wife spent four consecutive week-ends in Tepoztlán during August 1955, and lived in the village continuously during August and the early days 123 794 of September, 1956. We participated in the daily social and

[7] Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 67-104.

4:Spitzer E-5 (ca. 1956) 1957
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

religious life of the people, both in the parish Church of Santa Maria del Asunción, which is situated on the central plaza, and in the various fiestas and other activities of the neighborhoods or barrios. The investigator and his wife were accepted in the parish Church as well as in all of the barrio chapels, as practicing Catholics, rather than as interested onlookers. This was the major point of departure, which aided us in dealing with informants, and in interpreting religious practices, because of having familiarity with the intentions and meaning of Catholic rituals and ceremonies. To the degree to which a religious belief or experience may be considered a fact, we shared with the village people a common reality, vital to us and to them.

All of the seven barrios and their chapels were visited by the investigator. A plan was worked out by which some selectivity operated in making our observations. The barrio and chapel of Santa Cruz were visited during the annual fiesta, which occurred early in our stay, and gave us an introduction to the way in which deep religious feeling and social festivity are fused in their expression in the fiestas in this village. The barrio and chapel of San Sebastian were visited a number of times in connection with a fiesta which will be reported later in this paper. The barrio and chapel of San Miguel were chosen for daily visits, at varying times of the day, in order to find out what might be expected in a particular barrio chapel. The parish Church was visited on the same basis, for purposes of comparison and contrast. This brought about opportunities for frequent observations in the barrio and chapel of La Santissima, which is contiguous to the plaza. The barrio and chapel of Santo Domingo, lying below the plaza on the slope toward the valley, and the barrios of San Pedro and Los Reyes near the crest of the hillside high above the plaza, all three are more distant from the center of activity and were less frequently visited.

Interviews with informants were non-directed and limited in scope. Aid was proferred from several sources, and in general the field work notes were gathered with an eye toward the priest's position and activities, and the activities of certain

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Case 15

MEDICINE AND POLITICS IN A MEXICAN VILLAGE

by Oscar Lewis

In writing about the community and the health officer, Dr. George Rosen urges us "to recognize first of all that the community is a power structure. Somewhere it has a locus of authority. There are people in it who decide what many other people shall or shall not do, how they shall live and work, and many other fundamental matters." Any new venture in the health field will stand or fall partly on its merits and partly on its implications for strengthening or weakening the prevailing pattern of power. This has been documented in Dr. Kimball's case study of an Alabama community and in the Brazilian study by Dr. Oberg and Mr. Rios. In yet another form, it is again exemplified in Dr. Lewis' case study.

Dr. Lewis relates a troublesome episode that formed part of the field experience upon which his book, Life in a Mexican Village, *is based. The importance of the present study rests on what it reveals about overt and covert aspects of the power process. It reviews the intricate maneuvers by which a psychological research project was played off against a medical service originally set up in response to popular request. For instances of other programs combining research and service activities, the reader is referred to the Canadian study by Dr. John and Dr. Elaine Cumming, the Thai study by Dr. Hanks and his associates, and the Wellesley case study by Dr. Naegele.*—EDITOR

THE PROBLEM

Villagers Stop Using a Local Clinic

Shortly after arriving in the Mexican village of Tepoztlán in 1943, our community research team began to meet with the heads of families in various parts of the settlement to make ourselves known and to explain why we were there. Although our primary objective was to study village life rather than to change it, the villagers took advantage of these introductory occasions to direct attention to their pressing problems. They pointed out that their lands were becoming increasingly sterile, that for lack of water they could raise only a single crop a year, that they needed an-

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

other school, and that there was no doctor in their village. One dignified, elderly Tepoztecan expressed the general attitude when he said, "Many people have come here to study us, but not one of them has helped us."

At the same time the Mexican government, through its Department of Health and Welfare, was concerned over the problem of resistance to modern medicine in some of the rural areas. They wanted to know more about the reasons behind the apparent lack of confidence in modern doctors and the difficulties encountered in trying to win the villagers away from native *curanderos*.

Acceding to the wishes of both the villagers and the government, we decided to set up a small medical clinic in Tepoztlán. The villagers had made it clear that if they were to cooperate by satisfying our research aims, they would expect something practical in return. They had expressed a need for improved medical service, and the clinic appeared to be a good answer to the problem. Federal officials similarly declared themselves more willing to cooperate with us if some of our research work was designed to throw light on problems faced by the government. The Department of Health and Welfare was reluctant to furnish a doctor solely to perform examinations in connection with purely theoretical research on personality development, as we had requested, but readily agreed to send a doctor to treat patients of the proposed medical clinic in Tepoztlán. The Department also became very much interested in our suggestion that the doctor experiment by discussing disease and cure with his patients in terms of native concepts, rather than ignoring these as "unscientific," as a method of establishing rapport and winning confidence.

The plan to establish a clinic thus appeared to answer expressed needs of both local and government people and to provide a way for us to obtain the active cooperation of both these groups. Arrangements were made to obtain the facilities for the clinic, and a doctor was sent by the Mexican Health and Welfare Department. The clinic was only one part of a broader program of services made available to the villagers at their behest. In addition, two agronomists and four social workers were brought in to serve the villagers. Little or no opposition was encountered to their work and to the research itself.

5: Lewis E-5 (1943-1944, 1947-1948) 1955
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The Attack on the Testing Program

When we arrived in Tepoztlán, we brought official letters to the principal of the school from the Minister of Education and the Director of Education in Cuernavaca—letters which recommended our project and asked for all necessary cooperation. We met with the principal and school staff to explain the purpose of the testing program and to describe briefly each of the tests. We also explained that each child to be tested would first be examined, fully clothed, by our doctors to determine the existence of any physical defects that might affect the psychological responses. The teachers and principal all expressed interest in the program and willingness to cooperate.

Among other things, the testing program included administration of the Rorschach test. In this test a standard series of figures resembling large ink blots printed on cards are shown to subjects. Since the blots are abstract in form, each subject can interpret them as he wills, much as one "sees" things in drifting clouds. We arranged to have four women of our staff give the various tests daily in the mornings. Since each selected child had to be tested four times, we were careful to space the tests so that no child was tested more than once a day. All of these tests were individual and had to be administered privately. There were no classrooms available for our use, so we had to do the best we could out of doors. The principal set up four tables for us in the courtyard of the school. The spot was by no means secluded, since six of the classrooms had windows and doors which faced it. At the open end of the court were a number of banana trees, behind which were the toilets. Thus, the court was seldom without passersby, and we were rarely alone.

For four months our investigation in the school and in the rest of the village proceeded smoothly with many manifestations of good will and cooperation on the part of the villagers. Then, quite unexpectedly, in April the principal of the school put an abrupt stop to all the testing, claiming that a small group of men and women had accused our workers of asking the children immoral questions and had threatened to stone them if they did not leave the village at once. The municipal authorities, without consulting us, had begun an "investigation" of these rumors and

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NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

research and improvement programs, the type of doctors suitable for work in rural areas, the role of local organizational patterns, and the significance of the local balance of power.

Combined Programs

From the standpoint of our research aims, it seemed desirable to provide the services of a medical clinic to gain good will and cooperation. Conversely, the psychological testing program seemed warranted, quite apart from its value as a social science research tool, as one means of understanding the people's attitudes and behavior in order to have a better basis for predicting the outcome of health and betterment programs. Thus, a combination of research and service programs held out the promise of better results than could be expected from either activity alone. At the same time, each was capable—as it turned out—of arousing overt or covert opposition which could be directed against the other. It might be argued that a limitation of activity in the village would expose a smaller flank for attack. The merits and handicaps of mixing research and service are difficult to assess apart from the particular situation. Even in a specific case, as in Tepoztlán, the fact that one course of action encountered trouble does not necessarily imply that an opposite course would have been more successful.

A more positive stand can be taken on the issue of whether a medical care program would thrive better if it were introduced by itself or if it were made part of a more comprehensive improvement program. While it is possible that a more general approach might threaten more interests and thus incite a more general counter attack, it is also clear that even a very limited program of modern medical care such as was attempted in Tepoztlán would have great difficulty sustaining itself so long as the villagers remain as poor as they are. Even the modest fee of one peso charged by the cooperative proved too much for many. Financial means is not the whole answer, but it is a necessary element in the totality of factors affecting the success or failure of a medical service clinic. The spread of modern medicine hinges, among other things, on increasing the income of the villagers and is related to the larger problem of raising the standard of living by

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NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

better if we had operated according to current organizational practices. Had the doctors been brought in to set up a private clinic rather than a cooperative, there might have been less difficulty. Previous attempts to set up cooperatives in other activities had met with similar or more drastic difficulties. In 1930 Tepoztlán organized a Forestry Cooperative for the production and sale of charcoal. It lasted only a few years, for the village divided into hostile political factions. The officers of the cooperative were suspected of stealing funds, the president was murdered, and the cooperative dissolved. A more recent cooperative to run the bus line between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca also is rent by dissension and violence.

The results in Tepoztlán lead to the conclusion that the introduction of modern medicine should not be attempted through the mechanism of cooperatives in regions where a long-standing cooperative tradition is lacking. The more general lesson is that programs, to be practical, are not to be devised according to an ideal organizational model, however much this model may appeal to program planners, but must take account of the organizational pattern familiar to the people of the particular community.

Entrenched Power

Those who enter a community to engage in an action program must recognize the implications of the fact that they are not entering a power vacuum. In every human community there exists a network of relations between individuals. It is to the interest of many of these individuals to maintain this system of relationships. Any group of outsiders moving into a community will be seen by some as potentially disruptive, even if they plan no action. If they do plan action, whatever positive measures they undertake, no matter how benign, will be perceived by some community members as a threat to their own status and interests.

It is tempting to attribute the antagonism of these people and their obstructive activities to the fact that they are wicked people, opposing common good because of selfish motives. Even if this were so, the frequency of such obstruction makes it reasonable to anticipate its occurrence and to be able to cope with it realistically.